1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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861 the boys or girls sees it and starts to run. Then the rest look and see the clown
535 coming. The children cry and run back to camp. And the clown will be running
865 after them, trying to hit them with the stick, throwing stones after them, but being careful not to hit them. I'll tell you, those children will not go far from camp any more!

Clowns accompany the masked dancers at the girl's puberty rite, and parents of disobedient children, taking advantage of the fears already engendered, arrange to have Gray One "get after" their youngsters at this time.

861 The child is silenced, too, by dark forces, as fearful to adults as
825 to him:

From the earliest time I can remember I was afraid of the owl. It was not until much later that I knew why—that I knew the owl can cause evil influence to a person. When I was bad, my mother would make me listen to the hooting of the owl. "Listen to that!" she would say, and I would settle down and be quiet. She told me it was a bad animal and would catch me if I were bad.

The clue to the abhorrence for owls emerges in another account:

[775] It was taught to me in camp when I was small that ghosts and owls are related in some way. At night you go out in the woods over there by yourself. If you are a full-blood Chiricahua, you have been taught ever since you were a small child, "Don't ever throw anything at an owl. Never mock an owl. They are dangerous. They are ghosts." If you are out in the woods on a dark night after you have been taught in this way what owls are and you hear them close to you,
[753] you certainly are frightened. In those days they claimed Indians used to get very sick from owls, and some shamans had to work to get them well.

861 Other devices for subduing unruly children are used:
865 There was an old man whom I did not like. He used to chase me and catch me whenever he saw me. So, when I was bad, my mother used to say that this old man was coming for me or that she was going to give me away to him.

Sometimes the old man comes to see the recalcitrant child at the parents' request:

When a child is mischievous, they call an old man who looks fierce. He is no relative. The old man limps in with a sack or blanket in his hand. He acts angry and shouts, "What's the matter?"

The father and the mother sit there. They say, "This boy won't obey. He is always fighting. You can take him and do what you wish with him. You can cut off his head or sit on him. We don't care. We aren't going to put up with him any longer." The boy begins to cry.

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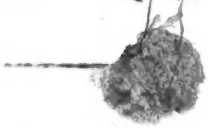

755 He opened my shirt. He put that feather right here on my chest, just touched me lightly with it. I could feel it; it was sticking right on my chest. How he did it my mother never knew; I never knew; but he knew.

I must have been blind two or three months. Then about the fourth month I was just beginning to get my sight back. Then I recovered.

A third account is that of a ceremony presided over by Geronimo, the well-known leader, and attended by the informant as a young child:

[753] [825] The first ceremony by Geronimo I saw was one for an older man. Some coyote or dog had made him sick.[7] One boy got hold of the news that the ceremony was going to be held, and we learned of it through him. We asked Geronimo if we could attend. He said it would be all right but told us we could not scratch ourselves or make any noise.

The ceremony began in the evening, as soon as it became dark. It took place in an arbor outside Geronimo's home. There was a fire. Geronimo and the patient were on the west side of the fire. Geronimo sat facing the east, and the patient lay stretched out before him. Some older people were there. They were mostly relatives of the sick man. But it would have been all right for anyone to come in and watch. We sat in circular fashion in the back of the shelter. But the space to the east was left open, as always happens at a ceremony.

Geronimo had an old black tray basket before him filled with the things he used for the ceremony. He had a downy eagle feather in it and an abalone shell and a bag of pollen. All these things were wrapped up in a bundle before the ceremony began.

[788] [823] He rolled a cigarette and puffed to the directions first of all, beginning with the east, puffing just once to each direction. Then he threw the cigarette away. After smoking, he rubbed the patient with pollen. He dropped pollen on the patient, just on certain parts of the body. He prayed to the directions as he did this. These prayers referred to Coyote and were on the same order as the songs which followed.

[776] [756] [539] He started to sing. There were many songs, and the songs were about Coyote. They told how Coyote was a tricky fellow, hard to see and find, and how he gave these characteristics to Geronimo so that he could make himself invisible and even turn into a doorway. They told how the coyote helped Geronimo in his curing. Geronimo accompanied his singing with a drum which he beat with a curved stick. At the end of each song he gave a call like a coyote.

[805] When the evening star was halfway between the horizon and the zenith, Geronimo stopped singing. This is the Chiricahua midnight. The ceremony

[775] lasted four nights. The same prayers, songs, and procedure were gone through for the four nights. I know that Geronimo had ghost power too. That night he

[7] Note the implication that dog and coyote sickness are treated by the same ceremony.

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told some of the boys that he was going to give another ceremony for a patient on another night, this time for ghost sickness, and that they might attend if they would promise not to scratch themselves.

As a result of such experiences the child learns to anticipate the curative function of ceremonies, the claims of shamans, their pattern of prayers, songs, and manipulation of sacred objects. He becomes sensible of the close rapport between the shaman and the power source, of the mingled flattery, pleading, and threats which mark the attempts to force the supernatural world to respond to the needs of man. He becomes aware of the sources of disease—snakes, bears, coyotes, ghosts, witches; of the implicit homeopathic feeling that snake sickness, for instance, requires the services of a snake shaman. He gets some hint, also, of the multiple ceremonies which such a shaman as Geronimo possesses, and he learns of the restrictions associated with ritual.

The beliefs and ceremonial usages associated with the related concepts of death, the ghost, and the owl are very early transmitted to the child by older relatives. "When I was little I never gave any thought to death. But once I got very sick. My mother thought I was going to die. She told me that I could not come back if I died. This was my first scare. Since then I have been afraid of death."

Often a child's awareness of death begins at the demise of some relative. Then his name may be changed because the dead person had spoken it so frequently that its use would recall the deceased to mind. Or his hair may be cut and his appearance thus altered. At the time of a close relative's burial, a child's clothing is discarded and replaced, for nothing must be left as it was before death. Efforts are now intensified to protect the child from supernatural harm; ashes are strewn upon him and around his bed to discourage the approach of ghosts, and he is thoroughly incensed with smoke from burning sage, called "ghost medicine."

Whether or not the child is curious about the meanings of death practices, they must be explained to him, for it is socially dangerous to permit individuals, however young, to remain in ignorance of them:

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869 765 578 761 When I was little I was told about death. According to [illegible] was taught as far back as I can remember, when someone died he would never come back to this world; he was gone. I was told that I must therefore never again call his name, for I might accidentally say his name in the presence of his parents or other relatives and they might scold me for it or slap my mouth. The parents taught the children that it is an insult to another person to call the name of his dead relative. If I was a little fellow and didn't know any better, someone might have slapped my mouth; then the families might have been angry, and there might have been trouble.

869 764 I was told that you never watch burial parties just to see what is going on. Men and women show that they sympathize with those people who are carrying their relative to the mountains by getting out and crying when they go by, even though they are not related. You should never watch unless you are crying like this for them. Children should not watch at all.

869 825 At first, little attempt is made to enlarge upon the precise place of the owl in the death complex. But, as the child grows older, the nexus between ghost and owl is clarified:

• 775 When I was young this is what I heard the old Indians say about ghosts and owls. They said that owls are part of ghosts. A night or so after a death you hear an owl close to the camp where the person died. Not only in that camp but in other camps near by the people hear that owl calling. They say, "That person is back over there again!"

[768] They claimed that if the dead man had a horse left alive there, or if any of his clothes were there, he would come back every night until his possessions were destroyed. He would come back after his things. If you had not destroyed what belonged to the dead man, the things he had had his hands on during his life, the owl would come every now and then, perhaps often, they said. Then it might bring sickness or bad luck to that family. That's the way I heard it long ago.

[789] And so to prevent sickness, if an owl cried around the camp, they set fire to a stick of wood, carried it outside, and threw it in the direction of the owl. Then it stopped [hooting].

869 775 In the following excerpt an informant recalls the manner in which his father sought to satisfy his curiosity concerning the destination of the dead:

I asked, "Suppose I die. Where would I go?"

My father said, "When a man dies he is just like any human being and is just transferred to another state. He is in another world. There are mountains and rivers there as there are here." He called it the underworld. He said, "The habits you have on earth are carried with you. If you are a bronco-buster on earth, you would be a bronco-buster in the other world. If you play hoop and pole on earth a great deal, you play that game all the time in the underworld. Whatever a person is accustomed to do on earth he will be doing down there."

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One of the reasons for telling the child about the underworld is to warn him of the machinations of ghosts who strive to lure him thither: 869 775

This is what I learned from my older relatives. The ghosts are supposed to go around in the early part of the night and then again when it gets on toward morning, from about two o'clock on. That's the old Chiricahua belief.

Toward morning a person will be dreaming. He dreams that ghosts are bothering him. He dreams of the underworld and the people there. Some of them he knows, some he doesn't know. He sees the beautiful land. They offer him food, a piece of yucca fruit or bread. When I was small my father and the older people told me that if I dreamed this I should not accept the fruit, for, if you accept it, it means that you are going to die and go to that place yourself. [787]

The fear of the departed, and especially of departed relatives, plays a conspicuous part in adult life, in ideas of witchcraft, in aspects of social organization, and in shamanism. The basis for this is solidly laid in childhood: [182]

I was pretty thin when I was a child. . . . . I used to be very much afraid too. I was influenced a great deal by the Indian beliefs about ghosts and used to get scared at night. I'd go over to someone else's bed and force myself upon him. Often I'd wake up screaming in the middle of the night, thinking I had seen someone near my bed. I'd dream of ghosts. A face would be bending over me, laughing. It would be just an outline, no features showing.

. . . . I always had a tendency to look back and see if anyone was following me when I was out at night. This is what the Chiricahua call being influenced by ghosts; I must have been suffering from ghosts.

Sometimes the child's panic reaches such proportions that a ceremony must be conducted over him: [755]

Once when I was a boy we children were playing out at night. As I was coming home I felt that someone was touching me. I became frightened, ran home, fell in the door, and became sick. They performed a ghost ceremony over me. The shaman worked a fire drill. The first sparks that came he put in my mouth.[8] I came to my senses. Then the shaman prayed and finally he sang. I was small and do not remember more of the details. [372]

There are cases where a child's ailment, though the symptoms are not so transparent, is finally interpreted as ghost or "darkness" sickness (to use the approved euphemism) and dealt with 753 755

[8] An evidence of the opposition of fire and the ghost (owl) which is believed to exist.

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We had a good sheep dog. She found a nest of small snakes and ate them. Then she got so mean we couldn't do anything with her. We were afraid of her. She wouldn't obey and would come running at you. We had to shoot her.

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Owl and ghost.—Fear of the owl, initially communicated to children by the very panic of their elders, grows in intensity with the passage of time. It is said: "Coyote and the snake are about the same, but the owl is most dreaded." "The Chiricahua are afraid to say anything about owls or to tell stories of owls." Nor can the presence of an owl around camp be treated with indifference:

If an owl hangs around your camp, you can take a burning stick from the fire and throw it in the owl's direction. Some would shoot at these birds. But a man who had power from that bird wouldn't shoot at it. He would be praying to it. He would know what it was around for.

When my wife and baby and I are in sheep camp and the owl begins to hoot, we don't like it. My wife often asks me to chase it. Sometimes a little child gets scared. We don't like an owl around when children are sleeping.

A typical reaction to the sight of an owl is that of the old woman of this narrative:

My sheepherder is a Shawnee Indian. Not long ago he killed an owl and brought it into my camp. We didn't notice what he was doing. An old woman was there. It was about twenty minutes before she knew what it was. She thought it was an eagle at first. Finally she asked me what it was, and I looked and told her it was an owl. Then she blew up and began to scold. "Throw that thing away! It's going to cause you evil influence," she said. I said, "Not me, but that fellow who is handling it." "Yes, you, for you have it in your camp," she answered.

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The owl is so greatly feared because it is the form assumed by another agent of disease and malevolence; it is the materialization of the ghost:

Once I was riding along with Old N. and we heard an owl. N. was a brave man, but he got so scared he nearly fell off the horse. I said, "Why, that's only a bird!" "Don't say that!" N. told me. "It's a ghost. It comes out of the grave and it goes back."

The proper destination of the shades of the deceased is the underworld, where it is hoped they will continue another existence oblivious of the living on the earth above. Their materialization as owls can indicate only an evil purpose:

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775 The owl represents the spirit or ghost of a person who was bad during his life and continues to be vicious after death. He works by entering the body of an owl and exercises evil influence in this way. Those who were desperate in life, such people as murderers and those who were given to jokes of a rough nature, are the ones likely to assume such a form after death.

This is what I heard in my young days—I remember my father telling me of it. Our belief is that, when the Chiricahua who has been a bad one dies, he turns to an owl. We believe that the bad ones go right into the owl at death, at once. The others who were good through life go to the underworld.

Since the owl is the ghost of a malicious human being, its hoot is interpreted as a dire warning:

I'm not so much afraid to kill an owl or even to handle it; it's the call! When I was in sheep camp, I listened closely and it seemed to me that it was talking the Chiricahua language. Some say they hear it say, "I'm going to drink your blood!" My wife says it sounds that way to her. Some say it sounds like, "I'm one of your relatives." To me it sounds like, "I'm a Mescalero." Some believe that dead relatives are in the form of the owl. They don't want to hear it. It's not the owl itself which is the dead person, but the voice. The owl always fools around the place where a person has died.

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753 These "words" of the owl can cause sickness through fright:

If you hear an owl, you know a ghost is near by, for the owl is connected with the ghost. The ghost uses him, goes into his body. Owls talk the Chiricahua language. They say different things to different people. To me it seems like they are saying, "All your people are going to get killed." The call of the owl is very powerful. It can get into your body and cause trouble.

Most people, feeling that direct reference to evil invites its appearance, are unwilling to speak of owl or ghost sickness. Therefore, because ghosts and owls are both particularly active at night, the malady which they bring is most often designated "darkness sickness."

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[761] An actual encounter with an owl is a harrowing experience:

The Chiricahua are afraid of the owl. It is because the owl stays around the place where people have died, and when it comes it is a sign that someone is going to die. Many people, when they hear the call of the owl, get frightened and faint. My wife went through an experience with the owl. About a hundred paces from her my wife saw a person in black. This person was walking toward her. When it got close, it changed to an owl and flew at her. When it flew up, it tried to sit on her head. She fought off the owl, and it flew away. I wasn't at home at the time. When I came home my wife was still trembling. I knew a ceremony toward the owl, and so I performed it and made her well again.

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When you are frightened by the owl, your heart begins to flutter; your heart gets weak and you fall down. I can pray for a person who has been frightened like this and, even though his heart is beating only a little, can restore him so that he gets up again.

Another story, so well known that it has been recorded from four different informants, concerns the return of a woman's ghost to her former home:

A man and his wife lived out at Whitetail. About two years ago the wife died, and the husband continued to live at the same location, though he didn't use the place in which she had died. One night he heard a knocking at the door. Then something was calling him by name. He went to the door but could see no one. This happened for three nights. He was very frightened. He kept his gun ready.

There was a full moon the fourth night. He had gone to bed. He thought he heard a rapping on the window. He looked and was pretty sure he saw his wife's face. He tried to talk to her. He said, "Come in at the door; if you have anything to say to me, let us see each other face to face." But no one came in.

After a while he heard the rapping again. This time he shot, and he heard groans. He was afraid to go out until morning. When he went out the next morning, he found a dead owl lying by the window. The next day he told the story. He knew he wouldn't live long after that, and he didn't last long. He could have gone to an owl shaman, but he didn't care much about going on living after that.

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It is evident that owl sickness is but one aspect of ghost sickness. But, though all owls are ghosts, the ghost need not take the form of an owl to frighten or harm the living. A whistling sound at night, when nothing at all is visible, is attributed to ghosts. This has given rise to a rule: "No whistling is permitted at night, for then the ghosts whistle back to you and scare you." There are ways of protecting one's self when the whistle of a ghost is heard:

When you get scared you get sick. If you go out on a dark night, you tie a small amount of ashes up and carry this. Put some ashes on your face too. When you hear a whistle at night, take some ashes and throw them in the direction of the whistle, and then the ghost gets frightened and doesn't scare you or bother you any more. Put ashes under your pillow too.

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The shade may call attention to its proximity by other audible means:

A young man was walking up a canyon with a girl in the moonlight. He heard a horse coming, trotting along. He thought it was somebody from the camps,

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781 and, because it was late and he didn't want to hurt the girl's reputation, he didn't want to be seen with her. So they went up on the side of a hill. He heard someone laughing and talking on the other side. He told the girl to stay where she was and went to the edge and looked down. Nothing was there. It was impossible to block a clear view on this road. No one could go back or forth without being seen. He didn't tell the girl about it, for he didn't want to scare her.

I know this man well, and he is pretty reliable. I said to him, "Maybe it was just a horse." He said, "No, I could have seen a horse from that mountain."

This boy married the girl he was with on this occasion. She died. She didn't live long after that—only four years. It's funny! Ghosts come around the Chiricahua all the time. That's why we believe in ghosts.

Occasionally, the ghost is neither seen nor heard but makes itself known in some other way:

Sometimes a ghost throws a stone at a person and makes fun of him. My cousin, my wife, and her sister were going up a canyon to a ranch. It was toward evening. They were being drawn by a pretty lively pair of mules. My cousin sat in front and my wife in the back of the wagon. As they were going around a cliff, they saw a stone come through the air. It was thrown under the mules. The way it came proved that it could not have rolled. Three neighbor boys lived around there, but they were away that day. The mules were frightened and nearly tipped the wagon over. It must have been a ghost that threw the stone. No one else could have done it.

There are times when the ghost is discernible as an amorphous black or white object:

One day, after I was married, I was riding my mule back from Whitetail. My young brother-in-law was with me, and we got lost in the woods and could not get out before dark. We got into a canyon neither of us knew. And up among the trees I saw something white. I didn't think anything of it, but in a few minutes I saw it again. Still I thought it was a wild white horse or a bare patch of earth. Right then my mule began to balk and rear. I couldn't do anything with her. I got off and called to my brother-in-law, but it was a long time before I could lead that mule out of the canyon. Finally, we got our directions and got home.

[753] I rode up to the camp and called to my wife to take the mule. I was so weak I could hardly get off. I couldn't even tell her what was the matter. She had to help me in, and I was just ready to die. My mother-in-law knew a great deal, and she said, "He is sick from darkness." . . . . I said to my young brother-in-law, "Did you see anything white when my mule shied?" But he hadn't seen anything at all. So he didn't get sick.

A footprint may be the only tangible evidence that a ghost has paid its unwelcome visit:

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This happened to S., and he was a good Christian then. He was asleep by a window. It was at the time of a big snow. That night someone knocked at the window. S. and his wife heard it. At first they paid no attention. Finally S. called and asked who was there. He received no answer. They went to sleep. In the morning they went to the window and saw a track there. S. started to follow it. The trail led to the mountain. He followed it for a while, but he got tired and came back. Tracks like that usually lead to graves.

The greatest misfortune of all is to see the ghost in human-like form and to recognize the actual features:

I have heard stories of persons who have seen the dead. Those who see things like that die within a year. A certain man's wife died. At that time he was well. After her death he saw his wife; she came back and talked to him. She said, "It is a better world where I am. Come on." This man took sick and died a short time afterward. There is no way to protect yourself or prevent your death when a thing like this happens.

Most often it is in dreams that the dead are distinctly seen:

Ghosts appear also in dreams, in sleep. That is the worst form, I guess. You really see them in a dream. I get like that. The door opens and they get closer and closer. I want to get up and fight, but I can't move. I can just say, "Ah!" The Chiricahua say this is ghost sickness. It can make a person very ill. It's a sign of trouble with evil ghosts if you do that too much, and you have to go to a shaman about it.

Sometimes at midnight or toward morning while you are asleep, you dream that a person is choking you. It might be a dead person, a relative gone a year or two ago. If it happens for another night or two, you must go to a ghost shaman. If you see a dead person in your sleep, you are not going to last long, they say.

A dream in which his recently deceased friend appeared before him was described by a much-shaken informant:

This morning about four o'clock I dreamed of Old P. standing at the door. I woke up frightened and grabbed my wife. Maybe he came back because I sang his ceremonial song. The very night that P. died I dreamed he came to me. I didn't tell my wife because she would have been frightened. But they don't bother me much. I have my cross,[12] and they stay away. P. claimed that he knew nothing but Yusn and Child of the Water.[13]

[12] The cross of the Silas John cult, a modern religious movement which draws in part from aboriginal religious ideas, in part from Christianity. The cross, made of algerita wood, is worn to ward off evil and witchcraft.

[13] The informant here is trying to reassure himself. Since Yusn and Child of the Water are beneficent supernaturals, he is proving to himself that his departed friend can be up to no mischief.

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• 775 787 Ghosts are often outspoken concerning their intentions and their death wishes. "I dreamed last night of C. who is dead. C. said to me, 'Why don't you hurry up and die?' I replied, 'I don't die because I don't know any false ceremony.' "

Dreams of dead blood relatives and affinities are not infrequent. "I dreamed of one of my relatives by marriage who is dead. I dreamed that she came back and held my grandchildren in her arms. . . . . If anyone dreamed about his dead relative nearly every night, he would cry every day. It makes his heart feel very bad."

The most terrifying dream of all is that in which one accepts food from a deceased relative, for such acceptance, as has already been noted, is a sign of immanent death.

Frequently a person recovering from a serious illness, during which he has lapsed into unconsciousness, tells those about him that he has been to the underworld. In one such case, an old woman is said to have visited the camps of her dead kin. Two young relatives met her and warned her not to accept food at her father's home if she wished to get back to the earth. Though she was urged to partake of the food, she refused and was able to reach the upper world and return to her body once more. The same theme is encountered in another of these tales:

> Once a man who was very sick and out of his head went to sleep. He visited the other world and saw his friends and relatives through a kind of partition. He was offered food that was all laid out and marked with pollen as it is on the fifth morning of the girl's puberty rite. His guide, though his relative and friends urged him to eat, told him not to take the food, as he could not return to this world again if he ate it.

775 753 The symptoms of darkness sickness usually present a picture of extreme terror:

> If you feel numb around the heart and in the chest, if, when you go to bed, as soon as you close your eyes, something scares you and you get a bad headache and vomit, that is ghost sickness.

> Ghost sickness is one of the easiest illnesses to tell. . . . . It affects the person from the heart to the head and is considered very bad. The one affected has a breakdown. He is afraid to go out in the dark. He is nervous and afraid of the dark. When it gets dark he vomits. Even little children get it.

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Sudden loss of consciousness is almost always attributed to the evil influence of a ghost: 775 753

A person with ghost sickness loses strength and consciousness. A boy got a ghost spell in the afternoon. Before he reached the house he fell to the ground. He got stiff as a board. They ran over to see what was the matter. They rolled him over on his back. His mouth was twisted. His eyes went up. They picked him up and took him home. They poured cold water on him. After that he came to his senses and got up. He was still weak. He got another spell. His mother went out to see a man and brought him over to the house. This man went to work. When he got through the boy was all right. Since then he has been happy.

The disposal of a corpse has its dangers, for "ghosts don't go right down to the underworld; they stay around the place where they died for a while." 764 775

That is why the Chiricahua doesn't want to live in the place where a person has died, or to handle clothes or bedding that were used by the dead person. If you have an experience with a ghost near a place where a certain person died, you know it is that person who is bothering you.

According to one informant, at least, even the ghost which has made its way to the underworld "has the power to come up and go to the place where it died." Yet "you have to go if a close relative in your own family or your wife's family dies. The group you are in comes to help—to help around camp, to help bury the dead, to help burn up things."

Strangers to the deceased may be exposed to comparable jeopardy accidentally. A man may unwittingly camp for the night at a spot which he later discovers to be the deserted scene of a death. If his sleep is troubled by a terrifying apparition, he will suspect that he has stayed too near a burial place. [787]

The inclination of the ghost to linger around its corpse or its grave and to revisit the site of its demise explains the insistence upon hasty burial, the avoidance of graves, and the departure of the bereaved from their former home. It also accounts for the destruction of the personal possessions of the deceased which are thus freed for use in the hereafter. If this rule is violated, the ghost may come back to claim what is his and to punish those who have withheld his property. Moreover, ghosts may be encouraged to appear if the affectional threads that bind them to [768] 775 [152]

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775 the living are not severed. Therefore, it is dangerous to keep the dead in mind through excessive grief. "Calling the name of a 152 dead person any time is dangerous, but it is especially so after 551 dark." It is an insult to speak the name of the deceased before 578 his kin.

It is obvious that relatives and close friends of the deceased, particularly the former, are most likely to suffer from ghost experiences: "If one is a friend or relative of a dead person or in any way associated with him, there is a fear of his ghost."

153 Precautions during and after the death rites will not totally eliminate ghost sickness. We remember the man who thought 775 that he was being persecuted for singing a deceased tribesman's 578 ceremonial song and the man who, in a dream, defied the ghost which sought his death, telling it that he would not die because he knew no false ceremony. It takes no great insight to infer that these two men had clashed over the validity of each other's claims of supernatural power. In other words, the fear of the return of the ghost is not unrelated to rivalries of everyday life. The more free from friction relations have been with an individual, the less likely is dread of his ghost to materialize.[14] This was definitely in the mind of the informant who said: "I don't think my father's ghost would come back to bother me. No, my father was a sensible man. He wouldn't do a thing like that. Only those who were trouble-makers in life would bother you that way."

775 The ghosts of enemy peoples, particularly Americans and 648 Mexicans, can cause an illness much like that produced by 753 Chiricahua ghosts but differing from it in some particulars.

When you just go out of your head and want to bite your tongue, and you get scared and numb all over the back and chest, that's sickness from the white man's ghost.

. . . . A white man's [American's] ghost can make you sick. You can always see the ghost that makes you sick [in white man's ghost sickness]. To see an In-

[14] For a socio-psychological interpretation of these fears of the ghosts of relatives and also of the power of living kin see Opler, "An Interpretation of Ambivalence of Two American Indian Tribes," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. VII (1936), and "Further Comparative Anthropological Data Bearing on the Solution of a Psychological Problem," *ibid.*, Vol. IX (1938).

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dian ghost is fatal, but to see a white man's ghost makes you very sick, and you see white men all the time. . . . . Before the Americans came, we had Mexican ghost sickness a lot, especially when we took guns from them.

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Unlike the Chiricahua ghost, the white man's ghost does not utilize the body of the owl to further its designs.

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Bat, gopher, turtle.—The danger from the bat derives from its bite:

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If a bat bites you, you had better never ride a horse any more. All the Chiricahua say that. If you do ride a horse after being bitten, you are just as good as dead.

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B. never rode, because if a bat bites you, you shouldn't ride a horse. He never got into a buggy or an auto either. He would walk for miles.

To touch the gopher or to be bitten by it can cause illness. "In 1886 I shot a gopher. I thought it was dead, but it wasn't and it bit me. My arm swelled up, and it looked like gopher holes were in it. The Chiricahua say the gopher is bad. You can get sick from it."

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An indication that the ordinary man hesitates to touch the turtle was obtained: "My people were afraid of the turtle and wouldn't touch it. Only a man who got power from it would handle it."

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Red ant, vinegarroon, black water beetle, centipede.—A number of insects are considered dangerous, and among these are the red ants:

They say you can get sick from ants in the same way you can from the coyote [i.e., as a result of its inherent evil influence]. On some people, when the ants sting the hands, they swell up. Mine don't. They bite me, and it hurts a little but never swells up. There are songs and a regular ceremony for ants. . . . . All Chiricahua children are taught not to urinate into an anthill.

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One of the most feared insects is the vinegarroon:

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K. is suffering from a peculiar Indian disease. It comes from an insect bite, from the bite of the vinegarroon. The disease is marked by a circle of red dots around the body from the point where the person is bitten. In K.'s case he has such a row of dots running around his chest. If these dots meet and form a complete circle around the body, the person dies. K. has been having several people sing for him.

[761]

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82 they may take, even though they lay no claim to a ceremony
789 from the owl. A man who was gathering wormwood (*Artemisia*
[37] *frigida*), one of the plants known as "ghost medicine,"[33] ex-
[783] plained: "Sometimes when you feel nervous and don't sleep
[764] well, you fumigate the house with this. People use it after a funeral." Others tell of self-treatment that "could be tried by anyone."

For trouble with ghosts I use "ghost medicine" and also ashes. I put a cross of ashes on my forehead at night. The Silas John cross is used too. I used it last night. A black-handled knife under the pillow is good for this too.

[304] By scarring your nose with a live coal, you keep ghosts away. You take a burning stick, wet it at one end, fix this end on your nose, and let it burn down so that it scars your nose. Then the ghost will fear you and keep away. Ashes can be put on the nose to keep away ghosts too.

755 But, though self-purification often succeeds in dispelling per-
756 secution, in a residue of cases the attacks are so acute that there
● 775 is no recourse except to consult an owl shaman. The ghosts are of two kinds—those of enemy peoples and those of tribesman (often of deceased relatives). Correspondingly, there are owl shamans whose rites are effective against enemy ghosts, and there are those whose ceremonies banish tribesmen's ghosts.

Most cases of enemy-ghost sickness result from battles.[34] "If a man who had killed an enemy thought he couldn't stand the haunting, he went to a shaman who used an owl ceremony on him." "If you have enemy-ghost sickness, you take a black silk handkerchief, a cross, and a knife and give them to one who knows songs for this. Then he can work for you. I've seen it

[33] Others are squaw weed (*Senecio filifolius*) and sage (*Artemisia filifolia*).

[753] [34] It is unlikely that enemy-ghost sickness was ever very prevalent. Despite
[761] general dislike of the sight of the dead, the ghosts of those known or continually
[772] opposed in life are more likely to be feared than are the ghosts of persons who fall under the general classification of "enemy." Some individuals evidently had very little apprehension concerning the enemy dead. One old warrior said, "We had little fear of killing at war. War was just a kind of sport. Few had fear of the dead enemy." Another man, when he was asked whether one who killed a member of another tribe was in danger, seemingly discounted the supernatural risks altogether, for he replied, "Yes, the enemy might plan a raid to avenge the death of the man he killed."

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happen. Of the Chiricahua, R. is the only one now that knows the enemy-ghost ceremony."

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Since the more usual type of ghost sickness results from persecution by the shade of a departed acquaintance or relative, the period immediately following a death is a trying one, and a preventive rite may be performed:

The Chiricahua, if someone dies, may call in a shaman to perform a ceremony. The day after the dead person is put away, this shaman will go through a ceremony for them. The members of the family of the dead person look ragged. They have put on their oldest clothes and cut their hair. The men and women of the family have taken a little hair off, but from the children they have taken all the hair off. They have burned up the clothes they wore before the death. They move camp in any direction and go anywhere. Perhaps other people sympathize with them and give them something. Then the shaman comes over and sings for these people. This is to keep the ghost away. He goes through the ceremony he knows. Some shamans paint the faces of the mourners red; some use white paint. Each shaman has his own way. [302] [302]

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Most ghost ceremonies, however, are conducted to cure ghost sickness that has already been contracted. An owl shaman has supplied an interpretation of his own ceremony and an explanation of how he obtained it.

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I cannot tell how my great-grandmother got this ceremony, but my grandmother got it from her. My grandmother cured many. She could only cure those who were sick from the owl or whom witches had made sick through the owl. Owl sickness just affects a person from the heart to the head. The Mexicans killed my grandmother a long time ago. I got the ceremony from a strong memory. I kept in mind what she did.

After my grandmother died, an owl nearly killed a little child. Other people knew that my grandmother had known about Owl. They guessed that I might have the power too. So a certain woman came to me for help and asked me to try this ceremony. I went to her home with her. I cured that child the same night. I found that the power of my grandmother wanted to work through me too.

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Now I can pray and I am able to get sick people well. My power can be used only at night though. When I hold my ceremony, if it doesn't work after two nights, I give up, for something else is wrong. . . . . Or perhaps a witch prevents the cure. Some witches have great power, sometimes more than I have. I can only try to help a person for two nights. Then I have to give them up. The person has to go to a more powerful shaman then, for some are more powerful than I am. I cure through song, prayer, and strong belief with the ceremony of the owl.

If an owl has scared a person into unconsciousness, someone comes for me,

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ences with Water Monster, Fire, Haze, Cyclone, Star, Moon, Sun, Cloud, Badger, Bat, Beaver, Mountain Lion, Wildcat, Bush Tit, Crow, Eagle, Hawk, Hummingbird, Yellow Warbler, and insects have been excluded because of considerations of space. But if the pattern, the range of power sources and ceremonies, and enough of the individual behavior to leaven the whole have emerged, the purpose has been achieved. It is interesting that, despite theoretical catholicity, the kinds of ceremonies obtained are, in practice, delimited by the concepts of disease and by the most vexing problems of existence. Thus, while power may be obtained from a wide variety of supernaturals, natural forces, animals, and the like, it is from a relatively small number of these (such as the game animals and the dreaded creatures which must be placated) that most rites actually come.

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SKEPTICISM

Accounts of ceremonies usually come from the shaman himself, from his relatives and friends, or from a patient he has successfully treated. Therefore, what is said will in most cases reflect the sentiments of the believer. But any member of the tribe can be, on occasion, a sharp critic of supernatural claims. This was so clear to one shaman that he told his audience: "Many of you people don't believe in what I'm doing. You think I'm a fake. I tell you to your faces that many of you will be willing to be this man when you see how I restore him."

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Criticism and skepticism are not likely to appear in stories of the acquisition and use of power, but they are revealed in casual conversations. For instance, when I asked an informant to identify another man for me, he described him as a shaman who had attempted to cure his wife of a swollen throat and had failed.

The attitude of respect for a basic pattern, tempered by doubt in regard to any individual claim which seems extravagant or unfounded, is illustrated in a "ghost" story:

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One man was telling me that when he was coming home from hunting, between dark and dawn, he saw two big eyes looking at him. He got pretty frightened. He didn't want to shoot at it because he didn't know what it was. So he ran way around and approached it from the other side. When he got there he

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771 saw it was a cow. He said that if he had been like many Indians he would have
• 775 run away and said it was a ghost. That's how most of this ghost business turns
813 out. Three-fourths of it is just something natural, if you stay around to find out. Of course, there are some experiences with ghosts that are real.

756 Precedent for a sense of proportion in respect to the claims and
771 motives of would-be shamans is found in the traditions. A tale is
787 told of a woman who boasted of her ability to determine the
538 whereabouts of the enemy by means of her supernatural power. One night, when the people feared a surprise attack, they asked this woman to perform her rite for them. She went about the inside of the windbreak in which they were clustered, solemnly moved her arms around, and assured them, "There is nothing. It is good all over." But in giving them this encouraging message, she leaned too far over the windbreak, and enemy soldiers who had crawled to it pulled her over and made her captive. The others, warned by her fate if not by her ceremony, fled under cover of darkness.

Another story has to do with a visitor who is asked to use his ceremony to find some missing tribesmen. He sings, shakes as though influenced by some invisible force, and is led into the brush. Returning, he asserts that a fully equipped horse must be tethered at a distant point to the east if his power is to continue the search. This is done, and again the man sings and is led into the darkness by his power, this time to the west. The others wait a long time for him to come back. Finally a hard-
[685] headed member of the group exclaims, "I'll bet he went over to the horse!" This, indeed, is the case; the pretender has made off with the finest horse in the encampment.

771 Religiosity is thus tempered with a saving humor and dis-
775 trust which act as brakes upon unreasonable claims. In a setting
[626] where each person is allowed wide latitude in the acquisition of power, the threat of public ridicule is a force in the maintenance of the pattern. The individualistic principle itself becomes a curb. Any person may claim extraordinary supernatural experiences, but any other person may equally question the validity of the assertion. Each shaman knows that there are those who believe in the efficacy of his rite and those who do not and that it is

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727 They scalped enemies. They did it to the whites. They put the scalp on a stick and hold it up and dance. . . . . They put it on a tree after the dance and let it dry and rot away.

The Chiricahua do not take the scalps of all the fallen enemies; but they take just one scalp, that of the man they believe to be the leader. Then they all go home with the stock that they have captured. They take this one scalp home with them.

[535] At home the hair of the scalp is tied onto a stick, and one man holds this stick upright with the scalp at the top of it. They have a dance around this scalp, lasting four days. The reason for the dance is that it is revenge for their dead, and they are proud, thinking that they are even with the other side. The widow, mother, and sister of a dead warrior feel proud when they see the scalp. They feel that they are even with the other side, and they take part in the four-day dance. They dance the round dance.

There is no interest in accumulating scalps; instead there is a fear of them. "They just let the scalp stay there until it wastes [715] away; they don't do anything to it. Those who handle the scalp [789] usually burn the 'ghost medicine' so the ghost won't bother them in any way."

727 All specific accounts of the scalp dance, incidentally, are from 184 members of the Eastern band, neighbors of the Mescalero Apache and nearest to the Plains and its influences. Persons from other bands deny that they shared the custom. Said a member of the Central band: "I have never heard of a scalp dance among my people. I have been asking the old people. All say the Central Chiricahua do not do this." And from a man of the Southern band comes the statement: "We did not scalp or display a scalp at this time or any other. We are afraid of the blood and the ghost of the man. We didn't want to have anything to do with it."

727 Prisoners are taken in battle for a number of reasons:

When they capture a prisoner they always question him and get what information they can. If he won't give it, they usually kill him right there, or else they take him back to camp for the women to kill. Grown men are never kept alive to be married into the tribe or enslaved. A mature man is dangerous, and [597] they kill him. But a young boy of four, five, or six is adopted into the tribe. He becomes a real Chiricahua and later marries into the tribe. Children like this are captured when their father and mother are killed. The Chiricahua take the children to increase the tribe, and they are treated like other children. When the

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727 535 786 There is no evidence that conventional morality is totally discarded at this time, but there are suggestions that more freedom than usual is allowed:

> The dancing may go on for two, three, or four days. There is much feasting. Some people are eating, others are dancing. There are many marriages during this period. The Chiricahua, when they were captured and taken to Mexico, noticed that, when the Mexican people had a big victory, they always celebrated by dancing and marrying and having a good time. To get even with them, the Chiricahua turn their victories into a celebration and a dancing and marrying time. Many young men take advantage of the occasion.

727 961 [783] [775] [789] Thoughts of death are not permitted to interfere with the happy mood: "Dead warriors are not mentioned in the songs, and the deaths are in no way formally announced. When the war party returns, the members state the news of the casualties privately." There is no general purifying rite for those who have come in contact with corpses during the fighting. The use by some of "ghost medicine" to stave off evil effects is "an individual matter; they don't do it in a bunch."

462 222 [512] [251] THE GATHERING AND UTILIZATION OF WILD FOOD PLANTS

The responsibility of exploiting the wild-plant resources of the region falls to the women:

> While the man is hunting, the woman gets up before sunrise, builds the fire if the man hasn't already done so, and cooks the morning meal, using meat if there is some, vegetables if not. Then she goes out to gather seeds or plants, leaving the small children with another woman. She gathers yucca fruit, piñon nuts, or whatever is in season and carries it all home to prepare.

Gathering, preparing, and storing fruits and vegetables provide a continual round of labor as the women follow the natural harvests:

> In spring they go out for mescal. They keep going for it for some time. They get plenty of it and store it up. By the time that is done they can go out after the first acorns and bring them in and store them in bags. Then the yucca fruit and the sumac berries and other things are ready.

821 865 The preoccupation with the growth of wild plants is reflected in the attitude toward the seasons and in the names of the principal time periods. Besides the four seasons, six time periods, beginning with the first signs of spring, divide the year. Their

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764 brought is buried with the corpse. What they don't bury with him is burned or
764 destroyed back home. All that a person had is destroyed. They say that what-
768 ever is thrown away with a dead person that belongs to him he carries to the underworld. They want him to have the use of these things in the other world. They don't want him to get there poor. They want to show that they do not hold property above their relative. And they don't want anything that the dead person had used a great deal to be around. It would only remind people of the one who died and bring them sorrow. Also they fear that the ghost of the person [775] who owned the article will come back to molest the one who keeps it.

For the same reasons they kill the horse that has carried the dead person's possessions. It is stabbed in the throat or shot, at or near the grave. If a man has several horses, sometimes they kill them all; sometimes only his favorite horse or horses, the ones he actually used all the time. It is because a person used a thing continually and it is associated with him and reminds you of him that you don't want to keep it. People don't want to see his horse. Because he used to ride it so much, to have it around reminds them of the former owner. Besides they kill the horses so they will go with the dead person. The saddles are burned.

They don't have to kill all the horses of the family though. All the horses of a family are not thought of as belonging to one person, even to the man who is the [422] head of that family. If a family has five or six horses, one is considered the property of a child, another of the wife, and so on. A man might not be considered to possess more than one or two horses of his own. These are his favorites and the [765] ones he always used, and they are killed at his death. They cut the tails and manes of horses if any are kept at the death of a man.

Everything is buried or destroyed. If a woman's baskets or pots are not buried with her, they put holes through them. Nothing is left whole, for they don't want them used again, even by mistake. Usually for a man the only things that are buried with him are his clothes and weapons. Other things are burned.

The things he used in his ceremony are not kept either. Those things are destroyed. Sometimes they put them in the grave with the dead person. Some hang them on a tree. There was one woman who died at Fort Sill. She had a cross that she used in her ceremonial work. They put it in her grave with her. Then at night something like lightning would come out of the grave.

764 When the person died of old age, branches of fruit-bearing trees are used to
766 cover the grave. When an old Indian dies, they bring branches of all trees that
[824] bear fruit. They put the limbs on top of the grave. They say, "Next season I hope
[551] there will be many of these trees." Young people call the dead out by name and say, "I hope that I will also grow old."[4] When a person dies in youth, his name is
[824] not called this way. When they bury a person, they brush off their own bodies
789 with green grass and then put it on him in the form of a cross. Then they won't
[828] dream of him.

[4] This material was obtained from a Southern Chiricahua informant. A
[115] member of the Eastern Chiricahua band claimed to know nothing about the particular procedure.

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death occurs near by, others take off their red clothes at once. It is because red is colorful and stands for a good time. If your relative dies and you see someone wearing red, you say, "Well, that fellow wore red when I was sad. When his relative dies, I'm going to wear red just for meanness." Fights and bad feelings can start from this; enemies can be made in this way. 765 578 822

And yet, in spite of all the determined efforts to obliterate the memory of the dead, a prolonged period of formal mourning is sanctioned: 765

For some time after the death of his wife a man will not dress in fine clothes or colors. And he won't go to social dances. He won't even be invited, because the people know he isn't thinking of such things. A woman will not attend the social dancing at a puberty rite, though it is held several months after her husband's death. She will wait about a year before she will go to such affairs.

Moreover, regardless of all warnings concerning the danger of excessive grief, some individuals find it impossible to repress their sorrow: 765 152

A woman may wail for a dead relative before sunrise for years after he dies if some special calamity has come which she thinks wouldn't have come if the relative were alive. Or she may wail when she sees a special friend of her dead son, or one who is of the same age and looks like him.

While the relatives are observing the necessary rites, the ghost of the departed makes its way or is led by other ghostly kin to the underworld, "a beautiful place beneath the ground, where a nice stream of water flows between banks that are lined with cottonwood trees, and everything is green." This home of the departed has been variously termed by informants "where the cottonwoods stand in a line," "ground that is streaked with red," "underground," "where they go off," and "where they go down." The last two names refer to the manner of reaching this subterranean paradise: 775

Our concept is down, a place beneath. When I was a child, many years ago, the Chiricahua never talked about where other Indians go at death. They just talked about where their own people, the Chiricahua, go. We think of a dead person going on to another life—of his whole body, as it was on earth, going to the other world. He is really transferred to that other world.

When a person is very sick and is unconscious, it is said that he is somewhere else, that his ghost has gone where the dead people are, to visit his friends. If he regains consciousness, it is because his ghost gets back again, and when he gets well he may tell where he was. Every once in a while someone has an experience like this. That is how we know where the place is and what it looks like. [953] [787]

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For instance, when I was a little boy someone was very sick, more dead than alive. He peeped into the underworld. But he didn't quite go there. He came back and told what he saw. He described the entrance to it as a huge sand pile upon which people are dropped and which they are trying to climb. But the sand gives way, and they don't get to this world again. The underworld, according to this man, lies just below our present world.

When a person dies, he goes under the ground. He goes through an opening in the ground which is cut out like a window. Someone leads him to it so he can't miss it. There is tall grass all around it to hide it and make it look natural. When this opens, there is a great pile of sand, shaped like a tepee or cone, stretching down beneath. It is a far distance from the top to the bottom. Once a person is down there, it is almost impossible to get back. Once he is through the gate it is impossible for the person who is really dead to come back to life; yet some who are just very sick or in a death coma, but who later recover, can come back and tell about it. This big sand hill closes off the underworld for those who are there. If you are in the underworld and succeed in getting to the top of it, you will get back to earth and life. But it is almost impossible. Many try it. They get up so far, and then the sand rolls down with them.

The conditions of life in the underworld are pictured by one who claims to have glimpsed the place during a serious illness:

The same ways we have here are carried on down there too. Those people dance, eat, and sleep. A person down there can actually feel another in the flesh. The people remain the same age as they were when they died. I saw people as they were when they went. That is the way it is always seen. There is no sickness, death, pain, or sorrow there. Those who were good and those who were bad are down there together. I saw them all mixed together. The same places, the same sacred mountains, the same ceremonies exist there as here. It is just as though everything is transferred to a different country.

Always the emphasis is upon the perpetuation of customary activities:

There is no death there, but lots of good things to eat. Affairs go on in the same way, but better. Those who are there just go on living happily. Life means more. It is always the same life, the hunting, the raids, and all, as in the old days. There are the same puberty rite, masked dances, and sacred mountains. In the underworld they are just like a big community, but they are split up into the same groups as on earth. Each person is with his own group. And each does the same things he used to do when he was on earth. As the story goes, if you were an arrow-maker, you are there making arrows. If you were a good hunter, you are over there hunting. If you were a great warrior on earth, you are out at war.

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And so, at the final point to which we have traced this culture, the underworld in which it has been faithfully projected, we take leave of the Chiricahua life-way.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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buried moccasins by one side, and the guessing of the position of the bone by their opponents. This is the game which it is alleged was played in the beginning of the world by the animals and the birds to determine whether there would be darkness all the time, or whether there would be day as well. In another Apache game the contestants throw rocks toward a hole. The one who gets his rock nearest scores most, and the player who obtains a required count first is the winner. Tug of war, wrestling matches, foot and horse races, and even the making of cat's cradle were numbered among the Apache's amusements and contests.

Social dancing was an integral part of the festivities at any large gathering. Beside the round dance there were two favorite types of partner dance, one in which the men and women, facing each other, first approached each other and then retreated. In the other partner dance, the man and woman faced each other and went forward and backward together. All of these dance forms were accompanied by separate sets of songs, the words of which were quite often caustically humorous and fixed with sharp verbal barbs for the young lovers who were dancing.

DEATH

Like all other Southern Athabaskans, the Chiricahua and Mescalero showed the most acute dread of anything connected with death. The corpse was buried as quickly as possible and the place of burial never revisited. The possessions of the deceased were destroyed, and the family at once abandoned the camp at which death had occurred. The name of the dead person could not be mentioned thereafter. Those who prepared the body for burial burned or discarded the clothes worn on the occasion. Close relatives of the deceased cut their hair as a mark of mourning. The ghosts of Apache who were sorcerers in life turned to owls, and the Chiricahua and Mescalero disliked nothing so much as to hear an owl hoot close by.[5]

5. For details of this concept and its implications, see Opler (20).

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

• 795 These people conceive of an afterworld, "the earth below," a place under ground to which the departed go. It is pictured as a beautiful land of running streams, tall grass, and stately trees, abounding in wild fruits and game of all kinds. Here there is no death, no disease, no sorcery, and the dead Apache pursues the practices and pleasures he enjoyed most when alive.

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NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

toward spring sometime, and he pretty near died. It was pneumonia, I think. He told the story to others, and they spread it all right. 787 539

He was unconscious and out of his mind. He was out of his mind, but he wasn't dreaming. His relatives thought he was going to die. When he was out of his mind, he was somewhere else, as he told the story. He said afterward, "I saw the place where the dead people go. I was on a high mountain. On the side of the mountain there was grass, yucca, and rocks." His relatives were crying that he was going to die. He was already out of his mind and in the other place they said. 787 775 539

He said he felt that he was dying, and all at once he opened his eyes. He was sitting there and then he began to slide. He grasped the grass. He saw a big shoot down there.[21] He was part way in, just hanging on the edge.

Something said, "Look down there; that's where all the dead people are."

This man said, "I looked down there and saw all kinds of beasts down there. It's a big round cave. It's dark down there, but after while I saw bones. The animals, lions and others, were just waiting for me to fall." It's very, very peculiar, but it's the way he told it a few months before we came to Mescalero. He looked down and was holding on to the edge. The voice said, "Those are dead people's bones; those animals eat up the flesh."[22]

He did not yet know who was speaking to him. He just heard a voice. And he could hardly keep from sliding in there. It was a deep pit, nothing but solid rocks.

The voice said, "Look at me."

This man said, "I looked up. There was the Devil standing [176]

[21] The aboriginal Chiricahua belief is of an underworld which the dead reach by falling through a hole in the earth's crust onto a cone of sand below.

[22] The punishment of the dead in the afterworld is an idea traceable to Christian doctrines. The aboriginal Chiricahua conception of the underworld pictured a land of plenty and contentment, with no judgment of the departed. [177]

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787 with horns and a tail with spears on; a red Devil, and every time
776 he spoke, fire came out of his mouth.[23] The Devil told me.
539 'There's only one way you can be saved. You have to promise
[775] me that you'll be a faithful worker for me. Are you going to do it? If you say no, you're going to fall straight down and go to those beasts.'"

Then he replied, "Yes, I promise you I'll be a faithful worker for you if you will let me live in the world once more."

The man said, "All at once the Devil says, 'All right, stand up on the bank,' and he disappeared for a while. And then came the Devil with a high table and a big book and red ink. And he put the table there, and the book there, and I was standing right there. And he commenced to open the book, all written with red ink. He said, 'You see those men living here. Those are my men. They are living on earth. They are signed up with me already.' He kept turning the pages and came to the list of names. It was a big book and there were many pages to fill still. The Devil said, 'If you promise me you will do everything in this world that is wicked, if you will engage in mean ways and all that, I'll let you live a long while.'"

And they claim this man said, "All right," and signed up with him. After he signed his name the Devil disappeared. Then he opened his eyes. He was back on earth. His people were all crying and shouting.

He said, "What are you crying for? I'm not dead."

From then on he got well. He's a good worker too.

[178] [23] In this account the Devil takes the place of evil power of older
578 Chiricahua traditions and prolongs the life of the man who agrees to do his bidding. Needless to say, the person who made these allegations is a political and social enemy of the one who is accused of "signing up" with the Devil.